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* 101
[142] The Oá-mahĩ are lighter in complexion and more slender than the Tukano. Dark brown or black hair, fine, sometimes wavy. Face more elongated than among the Tukano, also more delicate features and light eyes.

[582] They likewise observe tribal exogamy, and we know of marriages with the Tuyuka, Bará, and Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- It seems that at present all of them live in Colombian territory between the headwaters of the rivers Tiquié and Papurí.

The Pamõá-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) mention the Oá-mahĩ as a division of their own tribe. We do not know whether it is a matter of the present tribe, as seems more probable by the location, or if it is actually only a division of the Tatú /armadillo/, with this name of Oá (gambá).

3) Divisions -- The informant did not know how to indicate them.

o) PÁBOA-MAXSÃ OR TATÚ-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- In their own idiom, which belongs to the Tukano family of languages (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/"), they call themselves Páboa-maxsã, corresponding to the Tukano denomination Pamõá-maxsã or Tatú /armadillo/ people.

[142] /103/ Lighter in complexion than the Tukano, and also taller and more slender. Dark brown hair, ovoid face, light eyes, fine lips, high nose.

[582] We know of matrimonial ties with the Bará and the Karapanĩ.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- Presently they live in the region embraced between the headwaters of the Áua (one of the sources of the Papurí) and the river Pirá-paraná. About 20 years ago there were encounters and reciprocal massacres between the Tatú-tapuyas and Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/, and even episodes of anthropophagy are remembered, which are explained, it seems, by special hate and reprisals.

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578 The legends refer to similar episodes, and perhaps they try to imitate their legendary heroes.

278 /160/ a) The most common method of revenge, nevertheless, is poisoning. When they talk to us with intimacy and frankness, the natives affirm and document numerous cases of poisonings for revenge. From which one understands the general fear that dominates everyone, almost an obsession about being poisoned. Some revealed to us that they had been victims, they themselves, of poisonings that caused them serious and prolonged illnesses. We also know of cases in circumstances such that, according to the account of the Rvdas. Irmãs Enfermeiras /Reverend Sisters in charge of the sick/, they admit the suspicion of poisoning. Among these, we recall here two cases that happened during our travels. It was a matter of a more odious form of revenge, that is, to cause harm to the younger children in order to get satisfaction for injuries caused by their parents. Two children about ten years old, students of the Salesian Mission: a girl from Iauareté in April of 1955, and a boy from Parí-cachoeira in October of 1956. Both died at the end of a few hours, after ingesting native drinks.

• 266 They do not, however, practice anthropophagy, and nothing reveals that they had had this custom in the Tukano group of tribes (cf. below what will be said about Cannibalism, VII - 6, h /sic; see VII, 4, h/).

19) Vanity.

326 Vanity is a strongly pronounced trait of the native psyche. The mothers tie bindings on the babies in arms, below the knee and above the ankle, "in order to thicken their legs." Actually, on the whole, they are anatomically well proportioned and elegant, with well-formed legs. They want to have thick legs. It is one of the insults, especially among the girls, to call one another skinny leg (33).

*[192]

33. Insults in Tukano: skinny leg, ḡōxkē-dyŋ-Marīgō; curly hair, poári-subí; big eye, kaxperi-būhūgō.

/374 cont. /

764 3) Funeral libation and feast. Soon after the burial (perhaps the following night), according to the circumstances and the length of time needed for the preparations, a feast takes place in the maloca. Obligatorily consisting, as always, of abundant libations of caxirí and the traditional dances, over the tomb of their companion.

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[628] It has not been reported, however, that at this funeral caxirí there might be particular mention of the late one. Perhaps one of the guests will be the one to whose malefice the death is attributed. They invite him in order, in the alcoholic exaltation, to avenge the death of the "brother."

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*[192] It is to be noted that there is no repugnance in speaking of the "dead," mihí (the late one).

There is therefore no evidence either of any external sign of mourning that would be observed for some time, or of traces of commemoration of the dead, as we might expect from so much union in life and from some circumstances of the burial, which we have already pointed out. Unless this occurs in the dances and songs of the poosé. Our native informants, however, did not know or did not want to clarify this for us.

[775] In contradiction with this closeness or bond with the dead, there is the belief that the dead become transformed into Wáx-tí (disembodied spirit) and can frighten them or even harm them, as was said previously (cf. VII -- 4 e (2 c -- What to think of Wáx-tí?)).

[115]
[535] Formerly among the Taryana, stated Felisberto from Urubucua, six days after the death of a tuxáua, or of some kōmū, the caxirí (funeral feast) with the "dance of the masks" or the "great weeping" was held.

CANNIBALISM

121 The practice of eating human flesh is called cannibalism or anthropophagy.

• 266 In America it is a custom verified among the Karásba, hence the tendency to include in this group all the cannibal tribes.

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● 266 It is probable that such a practice, in origin, is due to the lack of food. Nevertheless, later, because of the whole orientation of the mentality of primitive man, it came to take on a magical character. One must, then, distinguish economic cannibalism and ritual cannibalism.

/375/ 1. Economic cannibalism.

In economic cannibalism the flesh of enemies, fresh or preserved by various processes that they know, is usually consumed; this is exoanthropophagy. Hence expeditions of war to provide human flesh.

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721 This is what Wallace tells us (o. c. 638) about the Kubewana: --"On the Uaupés only the Cubeus /Cubeo/ are truly cannibals. They eat those of the other tribes whom they kill in battle. In order to obtain human flesh still fresh, they even make war for this single purpose. When the meat exceeds what they can eat at one time, they dry it and smoke it on the fire, and thus it can be stored for a long time. They burn the heads of the dead ones and drink their ashes with caxirí in the same way that has already been described above."

- [727]
[567] As for the Kubewana or other tribes of the Uaupés, this information obtained by Wallace seems false to us. Perhaps in turn based on Wallace is Bento de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, Director of the "Arquivo do Amazonas" (1907, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 80), in his article entitled "As explorações e os exploradores do Uaupés /The explorations and the explorers of the Uaupés/, " where he also affirms: -- "When they take a prisoner in war, if it is a man, they massacre, if it is a woman or a young man, they sell, when they find a buyer, otherwise they kill and eat, dividing the pieces among everyone in the tribe."

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726 The encounters and reprisals that took place about twenty years ago between the Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/ and the natives of the banks of the Cananari, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, are still remembered (information by the Colombian Napoleão Estrada, in November of 1953, and by others). Still

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- 266 in 1954 we heard mention of four Colombians murdered, "smoked,"
648 and eaten by the Pamōá-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) Indians of this
726 region; and of how they particularly coveted the legs and feet of
the victims. Accepting the accuracy of the news, however, it
seems that it is a matter of special irritation and vengeance, and
not of anthropophagy as a traditional habit, much less of bellicose
attempts for the purpose of obtaining human flesh.

266 Koch Grünberg in various passages of his work Zwei Jahre
speaks of the cannibalism of the Hyanakoto. He is, however, only
reporting information by natives, and the Hyanakoto are Karaíba
and reside outside the area that we are studying here. We have
266 also heard natives of various tribes speak of anthropophagous
829 Indians (94).

94. The Kumãdene tuxaua of Urubucuará,
Mandú, knowing that we had made a long
excursion by way of the headwaters of the
river Tiquié, presented two very interesting
questions: whether we had met the /this
footnote is continued on the next page in
the original source/ anthropophagous
Indians and whether we had seen the tailed
Indians. We answered both questions
negatively, and we took the opportunity
to ask him whether by chance he too had
already seen them, who they were, and
where they lived. He also answered us that
he did not know, he had only heard such
things mentioned.

An old Tukano /376/ from Pari-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, in-
formed us that there are three cannibal tribes, or Baári-maxsã-ré,
that is: 1st -- the Yai-peri maxsã, 2nd -- the Pfíi-yároa, 3rd --
the Yôrwá, and that they live "up there," that is, on the head-
waters of the river Tiquié.

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Other natives designated for us the ferocious Indians of the river Cauaburi, tributary from the left of the middle Rio Negro, as being the famous Yai-peri maxaï or Onça /jaguar/ Tooth People. These, however, seem to be only legendary beings (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

Concerning the Pinao Indians of Colombia, we read that they sold the human flesh of their war slaves in their markets. This refers to the Panches, also from Colombian territory, who sold their own children to be eaten. It is said of these anthropophagous tribes that they fattened up the victims intended to serve as food. They ate them boiled with maize in large pots, or, more commonly, roasted them alive on a spit that pierced them through the anus.

2) Ritual cannibalism.

Among the tribes who practice anthropophagy, magic or participative cannibalism is more frequently found.

It is derived from the belief that through the eating of the flesh of an individual comes the most intimate union possible with him, and, therefore, participation in his good qualities: courage, vigor, dexterity, etc., and even in his psychic qualities or his magic power. Hence the sacred repasts, at which were eaten (not infrequently with preceding feasts, homages, and solemn immolation) the personages taken as superior: the chief, the pajé, the brave warriors, the heroes. More commonly, they are personages of their own tribe; this is endoanthropophagy.

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Among some primitives, the cult of the dead came to be impregnated with such a magic concept. In order to provide themselves with the desired qualities that their own ancestors possessed, there appeared the custom of ingesting their ashes with special drinks on the occasion of particular funeral commemorations.

Wallace affirms (o. c. 638) that "The Tarianos and Tucanos, as well as some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disinter the corpse, which is already in a very advanced state of decomposition, and place it in a large pot or oven over the fire, until the soft parts are destroyed, which is done with the

INTRODUCTION

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be interesting and he recorded tribal distributions and physical conditions of life as well as many customs. It is to Wallace that we owe the first report on mortuary endocannibalism among the Cubeo. Curiously, this information has never been properly authenticated. Wallace learned about it at second hand, as did Koch-Grünberg many years later. I observed what I thought to be this custom, but I could not verify that the bones being prepared for imbibing with chicha were human. The annoyance of the Indians when I accidentally came upon them while they were reducing bones to meal and pouring it into the chicha at the conclusion of a mourning ceremony led me to suspect that the bones were human. In response to my questions, however, no Cubeo would confirm my conjectures.

Wallace (1870, p. 354) traveled up the Vaupés to the mouth of the Cuduiari River at the rapids of Uaracapuri, where he observed a community of several malocas. He did not enter the Cuduiari, reporting only that to his knowledge no European had ever gone up that river. As for the Vaupés, this river, particularly in its Brazilian reaches, had in Wallace's time already become an important artery of European trade. Along the Isana River Wallace noted that the Indians were living in European-style dwellings. The Cuduiari then had the reputation of a totally wild region. The Cubeo Indians seen by Wallace were still wearing large circular wooden plugs in their ears. By 1903, in the time of Koch-Grünberg, this form of male ornamentation had already been given up.

Curt Nimuendajú surveyed the Isana, Aiari, and Vaupés rivers in 1927. In his notes, published posthumously in 1950, it is revealed that he correctly identified Tucano and Cubeo descent groups as patrilineal clans. He did not, however, enter the Cuduiari, and his information on that river, being secondhand, is not too reliable.

My own field work on the Cuduiari began in September 1939 and continued through June 1940. (Goldman, 1948, is a preliminary report.) The Cuduiari had the advantage of being relatively accessible and as yet almost completely unacculturated. I decided upon the Cuduiari after a survey of the Cubeo communities along the Vaupés.

CULTURE CHANGE

Cubeo culture has been subjected to acculturative influences from two sources, one from other Indian tribes and the other from European, Colombian, and Brazilian missionaries, settlers, traders, and latex extractors. Cultural interchange among Indian tribes in the Northwest Amazon region is, of course, an old and intricate process,

derer, having killed one sibmate, is surely planning to kill others. However, such reasoning is more appropriate in cases of sorcery than in cases of direct assault.

Among the *Hehénewa*, I was told, a man was beating his wife when his own brother, who had no apparent cause to do so, intervened. This led to a quarrel. While they were quarreling they heard a monkey howl, always an omen of the impending death of a kinsman. In alarm, each took his gun and together they went to the river to shoot the monkey. There the wife-beater shot and killed his brother, claiming that it was an accident. However, he derided he had better leave. Later that day, when a third brother learned what had happened, he set out to find and kill his fugitive brother. The police, however, learned of the shooting and induced him to find the killer and turn him over to them. This he did. The culprit spent some months in jail and was released. By that time anger had subsided and the brothers were reconciled.

Should a man kill his wife only her kin will avenge her. There is no one to avenge or punish a father who kills his children. The only example of such crimes that I have is of a madman, but it does illustrate the point. According to the account given me, this man, crazed by hunger, killed and ate his children. He then attacked his wife, cut off one of her breasts, roasted it in the fire, and ate it. No one interfered "because it was his own wife and children." The man then cut a piece from his own thigh. The people watching said, "Let him do this. It is a good thing that he should die." They watched as he then cut his throat and died.

I also learned of another example of unavenged death. An old *Bahúkiwa* man had died and the inquest named a man of a related sib as the sorcerer responsible for the death. The sibmen threatened vengeance. Some days later the alleged sorcerer innocently came to pay his respects to the dead. He was coolly received, but no hand was raised against him. When I asked about it I was told that no one felt close enough to the old man to want to avenge him. The widow was still angry, but women are not avengers even by means of sorcery.

Theft to the Cubeo means stealing food from a garden. Thieves pull up manioc tubers in the dead of night and they steal *mihi*. Both offenses are regarded as serious and incomprehensible. The theft of *mihi* is all the more culpable because it is a sacred drug. Such theft is correctly interpreted by the Cubeo as malice and is attributed only to men. If caught in the act the thief, even if a sibmate, is severely beaten or killed. Theft of objects is simply not acknowledged.

CUBEO

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THE CUBEO

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shields rested on the ground and the men fired their arrows from behind them.

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At a victory dance the men wore the smoked genitals of the killed warriors over their own genitals as an ornamental trophy. After the dance the women were offered the penises to eat for fertility. Except for the intestines, deemed not fit to eat, the enemies were consumed at a sib feast and drinking party. The head, limbs, liver, and heart were spit roasted, the rest of the meat was boiled.

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[773] for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted, refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkü*. *Oyne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

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[154] The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *dyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual orgy. This first part of the *dyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *dyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate

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[614] with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however, are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the substance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

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562 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritualized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

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[776] The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimaiwü*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

THE MOURNING CEREMONY

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The first phase of the *oyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed. [152]

One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjiko* is sounded. At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial paraphernalia made specifically for the *oyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning. [765 535 534]

That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaindüwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, *kenadjü marié kenadjü pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *oyne*, and the following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853¹⁰ and that [765 535 534 786 831 765 775 266 114]

¹⁰ The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disinter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a

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Koch-Grünberg had described to him in 1903 (1909, II, 152). I observed the *Hehénewa* headman, with the older men of the sib around him, pounding bones in a mortar and adding the substance to an urn of chicha. When they saw me they angrily ordered me away. Later, informants denied knowledge of what they may have been doing. Koch-Grünberg, however, was told by the *Hehénewa* headman that the limb bones of someone who had died some 15 years earlier were cooked for about a month, reduced to ash, and then added to a special corn chicha which was then taken by all old men and women and by parents of more than three children. I did not observe the drinking of this chicha, nor did I hear of the custom during my stay among the *Bahikiwa*.

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Finally, the younger men of the sib burn dry capsicum peppers in the maloca to drive away the ghost of the recently deceased. Thereafter, the deceased is to be forgotten and his name not mentioned for at least another generation.

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MASK REPRESENTATIONS IN THE OYNE

Anthropomorphic Beings or Demons

1. *Nakuko* (K-G)* A bearded dwarf, represented by husband and wife. They lure hunters from their game and pantomime shooting a bark-cloth monkey with a blowgun.
2. *Kohuko* (K-G) Husband and wife giants who carry clubs and strike down hunters with them.
3. *Hailako* (K-G) A giant who carries two heavy clubs, one in each hand.
4. *Palutziko* (K-G) A giant.
5. *Anauako* (K-G) A giant.
6. *Abuhuwu* (K-G;IG)* Forest demons.
7. *Hokonboxoko* (K-G) Giant tree demons.

* Reported by Koch-Grünberg.

* Personal observations by the author.

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fine powder and mixed in several large conches (vats made of hollow trees) of caxiri; this is drunk by the assembled company till all is finished; they believe that thus the virtues of the deceased will be transmitted to the drinkers" (Wallace, 1870, p. 498).

Endocannibalism has also been reported by Coudreau, who has observed that the Tucanos and Tarianas no longer follow this practice, which he attributed only to the Cubeo. "Ce ne sont plus aujourd'hui les Tarianas et les Tucanos qui boivent la cendre de leurs morts, comme le disait Wallace. Ce sont les seuls Cobiéas. Les gens de cette peuplade enterrent leurs morts; puis, quand les chairs sont pourries, ils lavent les os, les dessèchent, les brûlent, les pilent et, dans les calabours, mêlent cette poudre, précieusement conservée, au caxiri avec lequel ils boivent, en s'enrivant, les cendres des leurs ancêtres dont ils s'incorporent ainsi toute l'énergie. Cette étrange boisson leur procure des délices extatiques ou furieuses" (Coudreau, 1886-87, II, 173).